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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BEIJING 029040

H PASS TO HFAC ASIA PACIFIC FOR RUSS WILSON ONLY

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, US, CH
SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN'S AUGUST 12 MEETING WITH
CHINESE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TIAN ZENGPEI

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1. CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: HUMAN RIGHTS, NONPROLIFERATION AND TRADE
ISSUES FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN CONGRESSMAN GARY
ACKERMAN'S (D-N.Y.; CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEE) TWO HOUR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AUGUST 12
WITH CHINESE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TIAN ZENGPEI. BOTH
SIDES EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED PROGRESS
IN THE U.S.-CHINA POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP AS WELL AS AN
EXPANSION OF TRADE TIES. TIAN'S EXPLANATION THAT
DIFFERING STATISTICAL METHODS IN THE U.S. AND CHINA
ACCOUNTED FOR CONTRADICTORY TRADE IMBALANCE FIGURES
BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES CUT LITTLE ICE WITH THE
CONGRESSMAN WHO EMPHATICALLY UNDERLINED CONGRESS'

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CONTINUING CONCERN WITH THIS ISSUE. TIAN RESPONDED PREDICTABLY TO CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN'S HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. ON TIBET, TIAN CLAIMED THE DALAI LAMA'S RULE WAS AS CRUEL AS THAT OF THE KHMER ROUGE IN CAMBODIA; CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN ASKED FOR CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTARY PROOF.

3. TIAN STRESSED THAT CHINA WAS SEIZED WITH THE PROBLEM OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND SUPPORTED A NUCLEAR-FREE KOREAN PENINSULA. HE REMINDED THE CONGRESSMAN THAT CHINA HAS REPEATEDLY DENIED SELLING MTCR-SANCTIONED MISSILES TO PAKISTAN AND THAT WE SHOULD NOW CONSIDER THE MATTER CLOSED. TIAN OBVIOUSLY RELISHED A CHANCE TO BRING UP THE CURRENT "YIN HE" INCIDENT AND CITED THE U.S. REFUSAL TO TAKE CHINA'S WORD THAT THE CHINESE VESSEL DID NOT CARRY CHEMICAL
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WEAPONS PRECURSORS AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE U.S. NOT
DEALING WITH CHINA IN A "FAIR" AND "EQUAL" WAY. END
SUMMARY.

4. CONGRESSMAN GARY ACKERMAN (D-N.Y.), CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE'S ASIAN AND PACIFIC SUBCOMMITTEE, MET FOR OVER TWO HOURS ON AUGUST 12 WITH CHINESE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TIAN ZENGPEI. THE CONGRESSMAN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR, STAFF DIRECTOR RUSS WILSON, THE POLMINCOUNS, AN EMBOFF (NOTETAKER), AND EMBASSY CONTROL OFFICER. TIAN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MFA NORTH AMERICAN AND OCEANIC AFFAIRS DIRECTOR MA ZHENGANG AND OTHER MFA AND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (HOST) STAFF MEMBERS.

U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

5. IN REVIEWING ISSUES IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS, CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN FORCEFULLY HIGHLIGHTED HUMAN RIGHTS, NON-PROLIFERATION AND TRADE ISSUES IN A FRANK BUT COURTEOUS MEETING AUGUST 12 WITH PRC VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TIAN ZENGPEI. DURING THE MEETING, WHICH RAN AN HOUR OVER ITS SCHEDULED TIME, THE TWO AGREED AT THE START ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT "GREATER UNDERSTANDING (BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICANS) WOULD LEAD TO LESS MISUNDERSTANDING" AND THAT U.S.-CHINESE EXCHANGES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND AT LEAST MINIMUM TRUST. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN
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UNDERLINED CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THE DIRECTION OF
THE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP AND THE NEED FOR RELATIONS
TO REMAIN STABLE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED HE HAD PREVIOUSLY
BEEN OPPOSED TO EXTENDING CHINA'S MFN PRIVILEGES, BUT
AFTER HE ASSUMED THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE HOUSE ASIA
AND PACIFIC SUBCOMMITTEE, WITH DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY
FOR CHINA ISSUES, HE HAD BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT IN
CONGRESS SUCCESSFULLY ADVOCATING AN EXTENSION OF MFN
PRIVILEGES. THE STRUGGLE OVER MFN EXTENSION
ILLUSTRATED THE NEED FOR A GREATER UNDERSTANDING ABOUT
CHINA IN THE U.S.

6. TIAN REPLIED THAT SINCE THE U.S. AND CHINA ARE
AMONG THE TWO LARGEST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD AND THE
U.S. IS THE MOST DEVELOPED, WE HAVE A MUTUAL STAKE IN
THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. IN THE PAST
DECADE CHINA HAS PURSUED A POLICY OF OPENING UP AND
PUTTING ALL ITS EFFORTS INTO ECONOMIC GROWTH. THERE
HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS BUT SOME PROBLEMS REMAIN. IN
TERMS OF REJUVENATING THE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP, OUR
TWO COUNTRIES HAVE A COMMON INTEREST IN DEVELOPING AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BEIJING 029040

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MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE. TIAN AGREED WITH CONGRESSMAN
ACKERMAN THAT U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS SHOULD DEVELOP
STEADILY AND IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION AND SHOULD BE
CARRIED OUT ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND
FAIRNESS. IN HIS OPINION, OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD
INCREASE EXCHANGES AND ENGAGE IN "HEALTHY, FRANK"
DISCUSSIONS.

7. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN TOLD TIAN CHINA WAS TO BE
COMMEDED FOR ITS REMARKABLE ECONOMIC PROGRESS. HE
SAID WE HAD FULL CONFIDENCE THAT PROGRESS WOULD
CONTINUE. THE CONGRESSMAN ATTRIBUTED CHINA'S ECONOMIC
PROGRESS AT LEAST IN PART TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
ALLOWING ITS PEOPLE LATITUDE IN PARTICIPATING IN
ECONOMIC REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT. INDIVIDUAL
INITIATIVE CREATED A STRONGER COLLECTIVE ECONOMY. HE
ADDED THAT CHINESE PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD HAVE
ABUNDANTLY DEMONSTRATED GREAT ECONOMIC ABILITIES.
THIS SPIRIT WAS EVIDENT IN CHINA ALTHOUGH PROGRESS HAS
BEEN UNEVEN BECAUSE OF THE SHEER SIZE OF CHINA'S LAND
MASS AND POPULATION, AND CHINA'S LEGACY OF POVERTY.
EVEN SO, ECONOMIC BENEFITS ARE TRICKLING INTO EVEN THE
POOREST REGIONS. HOWEVER, CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN TOOK
ISSUE WITH TIAN'S CONTENTION THAT CHINA WAS STILL
POOR. HE SAID CHINA WAS A RICH COUNTRY -- RICH IN
CULTURE, HERITAGE AND RESOURCES THAT SO MANY OTHER
COUNTRIES LACK. HE BELIEVED CHINA WOULD ALSO BE RICH
IN ITS STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT
FUTURE.

8. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN SAID THE U.S WANTED TO DO ALL

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IT COULD TO ENCOURAGE EXPANDING TRADE TIES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA. BUT WE SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS AS EQUAL PARTNERS TO DO BUSINESS IN CHINA AS THE CHINESE ARE ABLE TO DO BUSINESS IN THE U.S. REDRESSING THE CURRENT TRADE IMBALANCE WOULD GO A LONG WAY TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF CHINA AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND ESPECIALLY CONGRESS. TIAN REPLIED THAT CHINA WAS ALSO READY TO DEVELOP FURTHER TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND WELCOMED AMERICAN INVESTMENT HERE. HE SAID MANY AMERICAN BUSINESSES ALREADY IN CHINA HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL. CHINA WANTED TO SELL MORE TO THE U.S. AND AT THE SAME TIME WAS READY TO BUY MORE FROM THE U.S. HE CITED THE RAPID GROWTH OF CHINA'S CIVIL AVIATION INDUSTRY AND NEED FOR MORE BOEING AIRCRAFT AS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS.

9. IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION OF A TRADE IMBALANCE, TIAN MAINTAINED THIS WAS NOT A REAL PROBLEM. THE U.S. PERCEIVED AN IMBALANCE BECAUSE IT ERRONEOUSLY INCLUDED IN ITS STATISTICS COMMODITIES CHINA HAD SOLD TO HONG KONG AND THAT HONG KONG THEN REEXPORTED TO THE U.S. CHINA'S STATISTICS WERE NOT BASED ON "COUNTRY OF ORIGIN" AS WERE THE U.S. STATISTICS. ACCORDINGLY, CHINA BELIEVED TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE U.S. WAS BALANCED OR EVEN SLIGHTLY IN THE U.S. FAVOR. TIAN SAID ONE FACTOR LIMITING U.S.-CHINA TRADE WAS U.S. AND COCOM RESTRICTIONS ON "CERTAIN SENSITIVE PRODUCTS." TIAN SAID HE HAD READ SOME REPORTS OF DEBATE IN THE U.S. CONGRESS ON THIS ISSUE AND THOUGHT SOME CONGRESSIONAL REMARKS WERE OVER-SIMPLIFIED. IN ANY EVENT, THE U.S. AND CHINA NEEDED TO WORK TOGETHER TO

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UNDERSTAND WHY THERE WAS A DEFICIT AND TO PROMOTE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TRADE TIES. HE BELIEVED THE PROSPECTS FOR TRADE EXPANSION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA WERE GOOD, ALTHOUGH MANY PROBLEMS REMAINED.

10. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN REPLIED THAT THE TRADE IMBALANCE ISSUE WAS NOT A QUESTION OF SIMPLE MATH, THAT THE "BOTTOM LINE WAS THE BOTTOM LINE" AND THE EXPERTS IN BOTH COUNTRIES NEEDED TO APPLY THEMSELVES TO THE PROBLEM. HE SAID FAIRNESS WAS THE ISSUE HERE AND THAT HE BELIEVED HE AND TIAN BOTH AGREED BASICALLY

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HUMAN RIGHTS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BEIJING 029040

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11. TIAN ACKNOWLEDGED THERE WERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
U.S. AND CHINESE VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT, IN HIS
OPINION, CULTURAL, HISTORIC AND OTHER DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN COUNTRIES MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO VIEW HUMAN
RIGHTS IN THE SAME WAY. HE CONSIDERED THE BASIC RIGHT
OF GETTING ENOUGH TO EAT AND TO EARN A LIVELIHOOD A
FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT AND SAID THAT CHINA'S FOCUS ON
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS CURRENTLY ADDRESSING THAT
PROBLEM. HE CITED THE CONDITION OF THE ORDINARY
CHINESE BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRC IN 1949
AND SAID IN THOSE DAYS THE POOR OFTEN STARVED TO DEATH
IN TIMES OF FAMINE. IT WAS NECESSARY FIRST TO PROVIDE
BASIC FOOD AND CLOTHING BEFORE DEALING WITH OTHER
HUMAN RIGHTS.

12. AT THIS POINT, TIAN INTERJECTED A FURTHER NOTE ON
CHINA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION AS IT RELATED TO HUMAN
RIGHTS. HE SAID CHINA'S LIVING STANDARD WAS STILL LOW
DUE TO ITS HUGE POPULATION. IN THIS REGARD, HE
DISAGREED WITH RECENT U.S. AND BRITISH FINDINGS THAT
CHINA'S ECONOMY WAS THE THIRD LARGEST IN THE WORLD.
HE ALSO DISAGREED WITH A RECENT BRITISH STUDY THAT
CHINA IS STILL ECONOMICALLY WEAK AND THAT ITS GNP WAS
300 BILLION. TIAN PERSONALLY ESTIMATED THE GNP TO BE
OVER 400 BILLION. HOWEVER, CHINA'S HUGE POPULATION
TRANSLATED INTO A COMPARATIVELY LOW AVERAGE PER
CAPITAL INCOME OF USD 500-700. ALL IN ALL, HE SAID,
CHINA REMAINS A POOR COUNTRY, AND THIS IS THE REASON
WHY CHINA IS CONCENTRATING ALL ITS EFFORTS ON
DEVELOPING THE ECONOMY. CHINA HOPES TO REACH A PER
CAPITA INCOME OF USD 1000 BY THE YEAR 2000 AND IN

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ANOTHER FEW MORE DECADES TO ATTAIN A MIDDLE-DEVELOPED
COUNTRY ECONOMIC STATUS. IN THIS CONTEXT, CHINA MUST
DEVELOP THE ECONOMY THROUGH "SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE
CHARACTERISTICS". HOPEFULLY, DEMOCRACY AND A LEGAL
SYSTEM "WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS" WILL FOLLOW.
TIAN CONCLUDED THAT, BECAUSE OF ALL THE ABOVE FACTORS,
CHINA CANNOT APPROACH HUMAN RIGHTS THE SAME WAY AS THE
U.S. HOWEVER, THIS DOES NOT MEAN OUR TWO SIDES CANNOT
FRANKLY DISCUSS AND TRY TO UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER'S

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VIEWS. TIAN ADDED HE DID NOT PERSONALLY THINK THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHINA WAS PERFECT, AND THE PRC WOULD NEED TO WORK CONTINUALLY TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION.

13. ON THE ISSUE OF PRISON LABOR, TIAN SAID CHINA PROHIBITED THE EXPORT OF PRODUCTS MADE BY PRISON LABOR. THIS WAS STRICTLY REGULATED AND ANYBODY VIOLATING IT WOULD BE "DEALT WITH." ACCORDING TO TIAN, SO FAR, THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DISCOVERED SUCH CASES.

TIBET

14. TIAN THEN WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT TIBET, SAYING MANY AMERICANS HAD NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION THERE. IN THE PAST, CONDITIONS IN TIBET WERE SIMILAR TO CONDITIONS IN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. THE DALAI LAMA'S RULE AT THAT TIME WAS "VERY CRUEL," WORSE THAN THE ATROCITIES OF THE KHMER ROUGE IN CAMBODIA. UNDER THE DALAI LAMA'S RULE, LIFE EXPECTANCY IN TIBET WAS 36 YEARS, NOW IT WAS OVER 60.

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IN TIAN'S OPINION, THIS REFLECTED THE POSITIVE CHANGES CHINA HAS BROUGHT TO TIBET IN ITS EFFORT TO PROMOTE TIBETAN CULTURE, LIVELIHOOD AND RELIGION. HE ASSERTED CHINA HAS ALSO IMPROVED TIBET'S HEALTH CARE CONDITIONS. BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DID NOT KNOW THIS AND NEEDED TO BE EDUCATED. TIAN BELIEVED IF AMERICANS WERE AWARE OF THE "TRUE EXPLANATION" THEY WOULD CHANGE THEIR VIEWS ON TIBET. HE ADDED THAT THE DALAI LAMA LEFT CHINA IN 1959 BECAUSE OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT REFORMS THERE. THE DALAI LAMA REJECTED THESE REFORMS AND FLED THE COUNTRY. TIAN BELIEVED IT "ABSURD" THAT WORLD OPINION NOW REGARDED THE DALAI LAMA AS A HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE. TIAN SAID THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT RESPECTED THE DALAI LAMA AS A RELIGIOUS FIGURE BUT WAS OPPOSED TO HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ALL OVER THE WORLD WHICH WERE "AIMED AT SPLITTING TIBET FROM CHINA." THE DALAI LAMA HAS REQUESTED TALKS WITH CHINA. TIAN SAID THE DALAI LAMA COULD TALK ABOUT ANYTHING BUT THE "SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE OF TIBET."

15. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN THANKED TIAN FOR HIS

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INFORMATION AND REQUESTED DOCUMENTATION--CONTEMPORARY
ACCOUNTS IN NEWSPAPERS, BOOKS, ETC-- OF THE CRUELTY
DURING THE DALAI LAMA'S RULE SO THE CONGRESSMAN COULD
SHARE NEW INFORMATION WITH HIS CONGRESSIONAL
COLLEAGUES. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN ASKED IF THE
IMPROVED LIFE EXPECTANCY IN TIBET RELECTED ONLY THAT
OF ETHNIC TIBETANS OR INCLUDED HAN CHINESE ALSO LIVING

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THERE. TIAN SAID HE REFERRED TO THE TIBETANS' LIFE EXPECTANCY.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION:

16. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN ASKED TIAN ABOUT CHINA'S REPORTED SALE OF MISSILES TO PAKISTAN AND STRESSED THAT THIS ISSUE WAS OF GREAT CONCERN IN THE CONGRESS. TIAN REPLIED THAT CHINA HAS REPEATEDLY DENIED SELLING MTCR-PROHIBITED MISSILES TO PAKISTAN, AND THE U.S. HAS REPEATEDLY MADE THE ACCUSATION. BECAUSE CHINA HAS "UNEQUIVOCALLY" REPLIED, CHINA CONSIDERED THE MATTER CLOSED. TIAN FELT THE U.S. PERSISTENCE IN DOUBTING CHINA'S WORD ON THIS ISSUE DEMONSTRATED A LACK OF TRUST AND RESPECT TOWARD CHINA. TIAN ADDED THAT CHINA HAS ALSO RAISED SIMILAR ISSUES WITH THE U.S., FOR EXAMPLE, THE U.S. SALE OF F-16S TO TAIWAN, BUT THE U.S. HAS REFUSED TO EXPLAIN HOW ITS ACTION SQUARED WITH THE AUGUST 17, 1982 JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON TAIWAN ARMS SALES.

17. TIAN SAID CHINA HAS ACCEDED TO THE NPT. EVEN
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BEFORE DOING SO, CHINA NEVER ENGAGED IN PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE SAID CHINA BELIEVES IN PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR POWER PROVIDED SUCH USAGE WAS CONSISTENT WITH IAEA SAFEGUARD GUIDELINES AND THAT MATERIALS CANNOT BE TRANSFERRED TO A THIRD COUNTRY. TIAN INSISTED CHINA'S NUCLEAR POLICY WAS CLEAR-CUT AS EVIDENCED BY ITS STAND ON NORTH KOREA. CHINA SUPPORTED THE NORTH-SOUTH KOREAN DECLARATION FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE KOREAN PENINSULA AND HOPED THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN NORTH KOREA AND THE IAEA COULD BE RESOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATION. IN FACT, CERTAIN PROGRESS HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE. TIAN ADDED THAT WHILE CHINA WAS READY TO EXERT EFFORTS ON HELPING TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM, NORTH KOREA WAS AN INDEPENDENT NATION AND DID NOT WANT CHINA DIRECTLY INVOLVED. CHINA COULD ONLY WORK WITHIN THESE LIMITATIONS

18. WITH OBVIOUS RELISH, TIAN THEN TOOK UP THE ON-GOING SUBJECT OF THE CHINESE VESSEL, THE "YIN HE", SUSPECTED OF CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPON PRECURSORS BOUND FOR IRAN. TIAN CITED THE "YIN HE'S" ODYSSEY AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF U.S. LACK OF TRUST IN CHINA. HE TOLD CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN CHINA HAS "THOROUGHLY INVESTIGATED" TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE SHIP IS

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CARRYING CHEMICAL PRECURSORS AND HAS CONCLUDED IT IS NOT. CHINA HAS RELAYED THIS CONCLUSION TO THE U.S., BUT THE U.S. HAS PERSISTED IN DELAYING THE SHIP'S PROGRESS TO ITS SCHEDULED CALLS AT THE PORTS OF DUBAI, KUWAIT AND DAMMAM IN SAUDI ARABIA BY INSISTING ON INSPECTING THE SHIP'S CARGO. FURTHERMORE, U.S. SUSPICIONS HAVE CAUSED THESE COUNTRIES TO REFUSE ENTRY

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TO THE "YIN HE", CAUSING IT TO LANGUISH FOR ABOUT TEN DAYS ON THE HIGH SEAS ABOUT 100 MILES FROM DUBAI, RACKING UP ADDITIONAL COSTS. TIAN SAID THE U.S. ACTIONS WERE "UNFAIR" AND "UNEQUAL" TOWARD CHINA. CONGRESSMAN ACKERMAN REPLIED THAT HE HOPED THE "YIN HE" INCIDENT WOULD SERVE AS A LEARNING TOOL ON HOW TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA IN THE FUTURE. HE NOTED THAT THIS CASE MAY ILLUSTRATE THE NEED FOR AGREED UPON VERIFICATION MECHANISMS.

19. THIS MESSAGE WAS SEEN BY THE CODEL BEFORE ITS TRANSMISSION. ROY

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